

Message Text

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13

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 NIC-01 OMB-01 IO-13 RSR-01

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FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8027

INFO USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

CINCPAC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 8680

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJ: COMMUNIQUE OF TENTH PARTY CONGRESS

SUMMARY. MAO AND CHOU HAVE DICTATED AND PUSHED THROUGH A SHORT, SWIFT, AND SECRET PARTY CONGRESS (AUGUST 24-28). CHANG CHUN-CHIAO AND WANG HUNG-WEN HAD STELLAR ROLES, BUT CHOU GAVE THE POLITICAL REPORT WHICH CONFIRMS HIM AS MAO'S MOST IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR. LIN PIAO AND CHEN PO-TA WERE EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY. END SUMMARY.

1. THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS (AUGUST 24-28) WAS SWIFT, SHORT, AND SECRET, AND HAD ALL THE MARKS OF A DECISIVE POWER PLAY DICTATED BY MAO AND CHOU. THIS APPROACH, WHICH DISPENSED WITH THE NICETIES OF FORM AND SEEMINGLY RAN OVER FACTIONAL OBSTACLES LIKE A STEAMROLLER, STRONGLY SUGGESTS THAT TIME WAS OF THE ESSENCE AND THAT MAO'S AUTHORITY WAS FULLY INVOKED. MAO AND CHOU DOUBTLESS THOUGHT THAT CONDITIONS FOR MOVING TO A TOP LEVEL
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RECONSTRUCTION OF THE REGIME WERE AS RIPE AND AS FAVORABLE AS

THEY WERE GOING TO GET THEM. THE CONSEQUENCES OF DELAY WERE PROBABLY FOREMOST IN THEIR MINDS.

2. THE CAUSE FOR SPEED CAN ONLY BE GUESSED AT NOW. AMONG THE POSSIBILITIES WOULD BE THE NEED TO PROVIDE FOR AN EARLY SUCCESSION TO THE MAO-CHOU LEADERSHIP BECAUSE OF HEALTH FACTORS. THE COMMUNIQUE SAID THE CONGRESS SHOWED "NO LACK OF SUCCESSORS." (AS DESCRIBED THUS FAR BY NCNA, MAO'S PERFORMANCE AT THE CONGRESS DOES NOT SOUND STRONG. ALTHOUGH HE REPORTEDLY PRESIDED, HE APPARENTLY DID NOT SPEAK, AND THE LIMITS OF HIS STAMINA MAY HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT IN KEEPING THE MEETING SO BRIEF.) ANOTHER POSSIBLE REASON FOR A QUICK CONGRESS WOULD BE TO SPREAD TO OTHER SHOULDERS THE HEAVY BURDEN OF LEADERSHIP THAT CHOU HAS BEEN CARRYING, PERHAPS TO FREE HIM SO THAT HE CAN CONCENTRATE ON PARTICULAR AREAS OF CONCERN. THE FIRST THOUGHT THAT COMES TO MIND IN THIS CONNECTION, IS THAT A BETTER ORDERING OF THE LEADERSHIP WOULD FACILITATE CHOU'S CONCENTRATION ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND ENABLE HIM TO TRAVEL TO THE UN OR ELSEWHERE TO KEEP UP THE MOMENTUM OF THE PRC'S DIPLOMACY. ON ANOTHER TACK, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT MAO AND CHOU MOVED QUICKLY TO ARREST SOME DETECTED DRIFT IN POLICY OR LEADERSHIP ATTITUDES THAT THREATENED UNITY OR OTHER CONSIDERATIONS TOO VALUABLE TO RISK.

3. WHAT THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED, HOW DURABLE AND EFFECTIVE THE NEW LEADERSHIP WILL PROVE TO BE, REMAINS TO BE SEEN. A PROFILE ANALYSIS OF THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOLLOWS BY SEPTEL, AND ALONG WITH CHOU'S POLITICAL REPORT, THE NEW CONSTITUTION, AND THE COMPOSITION OF THE POLITBURO, WILL PROVIDE SOME CLUES. CHOU'S DELIVERY OF THE POLITICAL REPORT AT THE CONGRESS CONFIRMS HIS POSITION AS THE MOST IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR TO MAO AND HE SEEMS TO HAVE STRONG SUPPORT IN THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE. HOWEVER, CHOU DID NOT STAND ALONE, AS LIN DID AT THE NINTH CONGRESS, BUT WAS FIRST AMONG FIVE WHO SERVED AS VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE CONGRESS PRESIDUM. CHANG CHUN-CHIAO'S ROLE AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CONGRESS' PRESIDUM WOULD SEEM TO TIP HIM FOR KEY PARTY ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES, AND WANG HUNG-WEN'S REPORT ON THE REVISED PARTY CONSITTUTION AND HIS ROLE AS A VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM RAISES HIM HIGH IN THE LEADERSHIP CONSTELLATION. (YAO WEN-YUAN APPEARS

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TO HAVE SLIPPED IN COMPARISON.)

4. ELDERS LIKE LIU PO-CHENG WHO MADE A RARE APPEARANCE IN ATTENDING THE CONGRESS; KANG SHENG, WHO WAS NAMED AS A VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM; AND GUNG PI-WU AND CHU TEH GRACED THE MEETING, BUT SIGNIFICANT ROLES FOR THEM IN THE NEW POLITBURO SEEM UNLIKELY. AMONG THOSE WHO DO EMERGE STRONGLY AS POLITBURO FIGURES ARE MILITARY SPOKESMEN YEH CHIEN-YING AND LI TEH-SHENG, BOTH

NAMED AMONG THE VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE PRESIDIO. CHIANG CHING MAY HAVE SLIPPED BACK IN RANK (AS NCNA'S RECENT LISTING OF HER BEHIND YEH CHIEN-YING WOULD SUGGEST). SHE WAS NOT A VICE CHAIRMAN AND ONLY LISTED WITH THE OTHER, PRESENT POLITBURO MEMBERS ON THE ROSTRUM. ALSO ON THE ROSTRUM WERE LIKELY FUTURE POLITBURO MEMBERS HUA KUO-FENG AND WU TEH.

5. WHAT EMERGES MOST CLEARLY FROM THE CONGRESS COMMUNIQUE, IS THAT THE LIN PIAO AFFAIR WAS PROMINENT ON THE AGENDA. (LIU SHAO-CHI IS NOT MENTIONED ONCE IN THE COMMUNIQUE.) THE COMMUNIQUE CALLS LIN, AMONG OTHER THINGS, A "BOURGEOIS CARRERIST" AND "TRAITOR," AND LABELS CHEN PO-TA AS PRINCIPAL MEMBER OF LIN'S CONSPIRACY. CHEN IS ALSO SCORED AS A TROTSKYITE, KMT ELEMENT, AND "ENEMY AGENT," A HINT THAT HE IS TAGGED WITH FOREIGN CONNECTIONS AND IDEOLOGICAL DEVIATIONS. THE PRECISE FATE OF OTHER PRINCIPALS IN THE LIN AFFAIR, UNNAMED IN THE COMMUNIQUE, IS NOT REVEALED, AND IT IS SIMPLY SAID THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S DECISIONS AND "MEASURES" IN THIS REGARD ARE APPROVED. HOWEVER, THE COMMUNIQUE MAKES IT CLEAR THAT CRITICISM OF LIN IS TO CONTINUE AS THE TOP PRIORITY TASK, AND THERE IS AN APPEAL FOR UNITY AND AGAINST SPLITS AND CONSPIRACIES WHICH SUGGESTS AT LEAST THAT THE WOUNDS OF THE AFFAIR ARE NOT FULLY HEALED WITH RESPECT TO THIS AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE, IT APPEARS THAT THE CONGRESS WAS ONE OF PRAGMATIC OBEDIENCE AND SUBMISSION, AS MUCH IF NOT MORE SO THAN OF UNITY.

6. THE COMMUNIQUE REVEALS A NEW FIGURE FOR TOTAL PARTY MEMBERSHIP, A WHOPPING 28 MILLION.
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